1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

inch in diameter is laid, these poles being as closely spaced as possible (Pl. VIII, *A*). Above these poles are laid three to four layers of coconut palm leaves or coconut leaf mats of the sort ordinarily used in thatching houses (Pl. VIII, *B*). When mats are used, they are always of green fronds. The alternate layers of palm fronds or mats are laid at right angles to each other. Above the palm layer come three to four layers of banana leaves, split banana stems, fau and fern leaves, all intermingled. Above these in turn are laid the bark breadfruit-containers already mentioned, the bark being spread out flat (Pl. VIII, *C*). The whole is then covered with a foot or more of earth and embers (Pl. VIII, *D*). The food is left in the oven for twenty-four hours. 252

The finished *feikai* is yellow-brown in color, the darkness depending on the initial heat of the oven, and is about the consistency of jam.

The preparation of *feikai mei pa'a* that I witnessed in Atu Ona was not on so large or so elaborate a scale as that described by Mr. Linton, but differed in no essential from his account. It may be added that *kiva* or river boulders are always used for this *feikai* on Hiva Oa and are renewed with each oven. Formerly, the confection was made especially for the marriage feasts. (See Festivals.) The scale of the old operation astounds us. Twenty or thirty men worked for five days making the elaborate oven which was perhaps six meters in diameter. For firewood, large branches of *ihi* (*Inocarpus eduli*) of *koku'u* [a hard wood, according to Dordillon (8)], and of *fau* were cut. Banana leaves cut with the bamboo knife were carried in in fagots. Breadfruits were brought sometimes at the rate of eighty to the load of a single man.

Mei hupaku.—During breadfruit season *mei hupaku* is considered an ideal food for new-born children. The breadfruit for this is ripened by piercing it with a guava or bamboo stick and, placed in the oven in its skin, is baked slowly and thoroughly over night. Breadfruit cooked in this way will remain edible for some time. When cold the tender part near the core is scooped out, chewed by the mother, and fed to the young child before it is given breast milk, which is supposed to be poisonous for the first three days after the birth. 253 252

Mei komahi.—Mei komahi was formerly fed to babies when they were weaned, this sufficing them for about a year and a half. When the breadfruit had been ripened, it was mixed and kneaded with old dark *ma* (*ma tehito*), and made up into small packages in *ihi* leaves. These were in turn wrapped in fau leaves and cooked in the usual oven, from which they were removed only as needed. It was possible to leave them for two or three months in this cache before they would spoil, though it is doubtful if this was often done, for the custom was to carry *komahi* as presents to others who had young babies. 252 862

/14 cont./ These 853
individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan- [476]
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1 [i.e., the child's aunts--Analyst]

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]